1: Burrows--84-85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621, 476 Ifalik

"The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relationships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, 'the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen.' [85]

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds-sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time."

1: Burrows--118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The incentives that put men to work and keep them at it in Ifalik are quite different from the wages and profits on which we rely. A man goes to work there because of some felt obligation. In the long run, he will be repaid by the results of work others do for him. But the connection between his effort and its eventual reward may be remote. In the case of work done for his household it is clear enough. His housemates share the results of his efforts, and he shares the results of theirs. There is nearly as direct a connection when he works with others on some public project, whose benefits all will enjoy. When he helps build a canoe for another man, the kind of reward he may expect is more complicated. He will be partly fed while on the job. That is only part payment. The rest of it is roundabout, and indefinitely postponed. Sooner or later, he will want help, whether for a canoe of his own or to meet some other need. When that time comes, help, including the services of the man for whom he built the canoe or his family, will be forthcoming on the same terms as the labor he provided. In the long run, everybody comes out even. The people of Ifalik seem to understand quite well how the system works. A few examples will help make it clear to one accustomed to our economic system."

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārlk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from ʼFauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

1: Burrows--119-120 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwèl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost FalārIk. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is FalārIk's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--120
116, 396, 476, 621

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārĭk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm of a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--121-123 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 673, 476 Ifalik

"Some idea of the nature and frequency of public works--tasks involving groups larger than a household--is given by the following list of journal entries, which is approximately complete only for the district of Rauau. One job, the building of Tom's canoe in Falārĭk district, was going on nearly every day from the beginning until well on in January, though only the crucial days of work are noted.

Aug. 1.-Bonito in lagoon. Entire population busy all day. (The fish escaped from the seines during the night.)

Aug. 9.-Bonito in lagoon again. Entire population busy all day. School captured toward sundown.

Aug. 10-12.-All work tabu except smoking of bonito.

Sept. 5-12 (approximately).-Clean-up of island, ordered by chiefs at general meeting Sept. 4, after visit of American ship.

Sept. 20.-Fishing for feast held at conclusion of religious ceremony.

Sept. 27.-Planks of Tom's canoe glued and permanently lashed.

Sept. 28.-New thatch plaited for canoe-house Fan ni wā, in Falārĭk district.

Sept. 30.-New thatch put on roof of Fan ni wā. [122]

Oct. 3.-Chiefs order men out to work on Tom's canoe.

Oct. 5.-Corner post replaced in canoe-house Fale Pëngā, Rauau district.

Oct. 6.-District fishing (For feast at conclusion of canoe-house job? Not noted.)

Oct. 11.-District fishing.

Oct. 13-18. -Young men go out in canoes every morning with large traps.
Oct. 19. -Fishing by united forces of Rauau and Falārĭk.
Oct. 21. -Post replaced on canoe-house Pa'urĕl. Done by some men, but not all from both Rauau and Falālap.
Oct. 22. -Falālap district fishing for feast to celebrate conclusion of canoe-house job. Feast held late in the day.
Oct. 24. -(and thereafter nearly every night until Nov. 15 at three canoe-houses; one in Falārĭk, one in Rauau, and one in Falālap). Men rehearse at night for performance of ur dance, ordered by chiefs at request of anthropologist.
Oct. 25 (approximately, and daily thereafter). -Men at work in all canoe-houses making new seine for Falālap.
Oct. 31. -Feast at Falālap for conclusion of seine-making; which, however, continued thereafter for several days.
Nov. 5. -New thatch sheets plaited for canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district.
Nov. 6. -Rauau district fishing.
Nov. 7. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Sabwōlap.
Nov. 10. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Pa'ugop in Falārĭk.
Nov. 14. -No work except preparing feast to conclude final performance of ur dance.

Nov. 15. -Men of all districts take part in final performance of ur.
Nov. 16 (and on into December). -Young men out in canoes nearly every morning with big fish-traps.
Nov. 25. -Thatch sheets plaited for men's house. (Thatch put on several days later-exact date not noted.)
Dec. 3. -Over-water 'head' or latrine built for anthropologists.
Dec. 6. -Young men of Rauau went trolling over distant reef Vasulós.
Dec. 9-11. -Stringer replaced on canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district. [123]
Dec. 12. -Boys of Rauau fishing for feast on completion of canoe-house job. Feast held late that day.
Dec. 13. -Canoes out with traps in the morning, several parties with torches scoured reef at night.
Dec. 24. -Extra-tie beam and king-post installed in canoe-house Sabwōlap, recently repaired.
Dec. 28. -Outrigger fitted on Tom's canoe.
Dec. 31. -Canoe sail repaired by small group in front of one of the Rauau canoe-houses.
Jan. 2. -District fishing by young men (Rauau) for feast to conclude four days of prayer for a sick woman.
Jan. 6. -Trial run of Tom's new canoe, completed except for finishing touches

and painting.

Jan. 7-14 (approximately). -Re-lashing of Gabwileisei's canoe.

Jan. 24. -District fishing, Rauau.

Jan. 26. -District fishing, Rauau.

Feb. 2-3. -Torchlight fishing on reef by young men.

To sum up: work is undertaken and working groups formed, to meet some felt obligation. The smaller groups unite to meet the needs of kinsfolk and neighbors, with kinship the strongest bond. Larger groups are formed mainly on the basis of common residence. The district or, in the case of Falālap, the island, are the units of most frequent cooperation on this larger scale. A few tasks call for cooperation of the whole population. Women cooperate according to the same pattern as men. In the larger groups, they usually play a supporting role."

1: Burrows--123 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The immediate rewards of group labor are ordinarily confined to sharing in the sociability of the gathering and in food distributed during the course of the work or at its close; sometimes, also, in the products of the work-- a catch of fish or a canoe-house which all the men may use. Other payment comes in roundabout ways and may be indefinitely delayed. That is, a stint of work does not entitle the worker to a specified return from a specified employer, as with us; but does give him a claim to equivalent services, whenever he needs them, from whoever is available to help. There seems to be no thought of one individual profiting more than another, or at another's expense."

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 105 Ifalik

"The framework within which goods and services are distributed has been partly stated, partly implied, in the foregoing discussion. A summary of the main points follows:

Each individual shares in the use of the homestead and arable land of [124] his maternal lineage. This involves a claim, not only to shelter, but also to food from cultivated plants and domestic animals.

Claims of this kind are lifelong and inalienable. What we call real property changes hands only as individual claims are initiated by birth or adoption, or extinguished by death.

A man acquires an additional claim by marriage, when he joins the household of his wife. Thereafter he lives mainly on the produce of her land, but without losing his right to draw on his own heritage. In cases of residence other than matrilocal, all who take up residence on some homestead other than their maternal one assume similar claims to the new homestead and whatever property goes with it.

Collected food--fish (except yellow-fin tuna), other sea-food (except turtle), land crabs, terns--is shared among the households of those who get it, or distributed farther if there is a surplus. For example, fish caught by a district expedition are distributed among all households of the district. If any are left over, they go to other districts. The exceptions, delicacies reserved for the clans of highest rank, are also distributed beyond these clans as far as the supply will go.

Each individual is obliged to contribute services, according to sex, age, and physical condition, by taking part in the work of his household and in communal tasks carried out by his neighborhood, district, island, or by the whole population of the atoll.

Specialization, beyond the general division of labor by sex and age, is confined to a few occupations: government, navigation, supervision of carpentry on canoes and public buildings, tattooing, some forms of healing, and some religious activities.

This economic system provides, indeed imposes, approximate equality of wealth. Some lineages, to be sure, have more arable land than others. But none is landless. And none can benefit from more land than its members can cultivate, nor as a rule--since there is no market for staple products-- dispose of more than they can consume. Further distribution on special occasions which constitute exceptions to this rule, will be discussed later.

This situation offers very little opportunity or incentive for a prestige economy. Not only can no individual or group acquire much more property than others; there would be no advantage in doing so. Honor and status are not equated with possession or expenditure of material goods, except in a few cases, as canoe ownership and display at funerals.

Control of labor is almost as equalitarian as ownership of property. The chiefs, and, within the household, the senior individuals, can command to some extent the services of others. But tradition channels, and in effect limits, the purposes to which labor is

applied. It is used only for the common welfare, never to enrich one individual or group at the expense of others."

1: Burrows--124-125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 592 Ifalik

"This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost [125] exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment."

28: Spiro--13-14
116, 574, 476, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleanens

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--33 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 156 Ifalik

"The first thing that strikes the observer about Ifaluk production is its cooperative nature, this being true not only in the manufacture of objects which are obviously for public consumption, but even for those which are for private use, and which are owned privately. Furthermore, even those activities whose very nature requires individual effort, are performed not in private, but in the company of others, each person doing the same work. Gregariousness is characteristic of this society, and has important psychological implications, since it is a compulsive gregariousness stemming from a deep-seated need to be with people, to avoid isolation."

28: Spiro--34-35
116, 222, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Like the making of rope, the collection of toddy is, intrinsically, an individual process--only one man can climb a tree at one time. Yet this, too is done in a semi-communal fashion. The toddy is collected twice a day, and is collected at fairly regular times, so that a number of young men within a district collect their toddy [35] simultaneously, proceeding together to their individual groves, and returning together. This practice is even more marked in the afternoon than in the morning, so that we facetiously referred to this spectacle as the 'toddy parade', because the sight of eight or ten men walking single or double file through the village, was reminiscent of an American parade."

28: Spiro--35
116, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The tending of the trees is the only individual phenomenon in the economy. The men gather the coconut sprouts in rows in their groves, and at certain seasons of the year, plant them. The trimming of the coconut trees is performed when they climb a tree to collect toddy or coconuts, and the picking of the breadfruit is determined by the desire for it.

The other forms of work except for canoes and houses are genuinely cooperative, in that the commencement of the work is decided by the chiefs, is performed by the men, each with a special task directed towards the common end, and the products of their labor are shared equally."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--35 [4]
116, 462, 476, 358

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--35 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 351 Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

28: Spiro--35-36
116, 476, 527

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are a number of institutional, as well as non-institutional characteristics of these communal undertakings. All are completed with a feast, prepared by the women, at which the men sit about in small groups by the structure on which they had been working. Furthermore, when the men assemble for their work, they bring coconuts which are deposited in a common store, it becoming the sole function of certain [36] of the men to husk them. At the completion of the work, the chiefs distribute the coconuts among the men who receive them with great pleasure. This distribution of food, at other times of tobacco at communal gatherings raises a perplexing problem: Why should coconuts or tobacco, which all people possess in abundance, be distributed by the chiefs at the completion of these affairs, and why should a handful of tobacco or 4 coconuts be received with such obvious pleasure by the people, particularly when as in this case, they bring the coconuts themselves, and they are now merely being redistributed? We shall have occasion to discuss this point in some detail in our chapter on psychology."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 533, 181, 571 Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--37 [2]
116, 571, 476, 622, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--37[3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 342 Ifalik

"The kind of cooperative work we have been discussing is cooperation whose results redound to the benefit of the entire society, or at least to the district. But this pattern of cooperation operates even where there is no direct return to the participants. When a man wishes to thatch the roof of his own house, the young men of his district offer their services with no hesition. Of course, they receive a gift of tobacco or food upon completion of the job, but this gift is a mere token of appreciation, rather than payment for work done. However, this cooperation is always reciprocal, because the man who is assisted by his neighbors in one instance will assist in another instance. Then there are occasions in which one district assists another. For example in one of the clean-ups, the district of Rauau, which is smaller in size but more numerous in population that its neighboring district of Felarik, completed its work before the latter, whereupon a number of boys and men of Rauau proceeded to Felarik and assisted the people of that district for an additional two days, until the work was completed. This was done entirely voluntarily. When I informed the chiefs of this cooperation, they were very pleased, and all proclaimed a spontaneous 'erat'. (Very good)."

28: Spiro--37-38
116, 476, 286

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This concern for the people of another district, which is expressed in this kind of cooperative labor, is in some cases enjoined by the chiefs. For example the island of Falalap required additional seins. Now a sein is usually about sixty feet long and about nine feet wide, and its construction, is a long and arduous job, requiring a huge quantity of rope. The Falalap chiefs ordered their men to make seins, and the [38] Felerik men, at the order of their chiefs, also made seins for Falalap, with their own rope though they would receive no direct benefit from this work."

28: Spiro--38
116, 476, 764, 505, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--38 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

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"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

28: Spiro--39 [2]
116, 226, 476, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

28: Spiro--39 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 476 Ifalik

"A minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a fish trap in the shape of an arrow-head, made of the piling of stones to a height that juts above the water in low tide, but which is submerged in high tide. The fish inside this trap cannot escape at low tide because of the jutting rocks, and the men catch them with hand nets. There are three such traps on the island, and they provide sardine-sized fish, but only at certain periods during the year, which the natives know intimately and control quite well.

Another minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a portable coconut-twig fish trap inside the lagoon, close to the shore in shallow water. The fish, the same kind caught in the stone traps, are 'driven' into the traps by the men standing patiently in the hot sun for many hours. The men stand behind the school of fish preventing them from altering their course, gradually heading them towards the trap. When one enters, the rest will follow, and the traps are constructed so that ingress is easy, but egress is well-nigh impossible. This work requires the cooperation of a number of men to guide the fish and to provide relief for each other as they work in shifts.

The fish caught by these techniques are either eaten immediately by the men themselves, if the haul is small, or is taken to their homes to be consumed by the entire household, if the haul is large. In the former case the men cook the fish themselves; in the latter it is prepared by the women."

28: Spiro--39-40
116, 226, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"None of these techniques [WPM: using traps] compare in importance to the large cooperative fishing ventures, of which we can distinguish two kinds--sporadic fishing inside the lagoon or in the ocean, in the trade-wind season, and a period of three month persistent daily fishing, at the beginning of the prevailing westerlies.

Communal fishing might be undertaken at the initiative of a group of men, with the permission of the chief, sailing outside of the lagoon, and trolling with seins. The fish is then divided among the participants. Most communal fishing, however, is all-island, at least all-district, and it is initiated either at the express order of the chiefs, because they think the fish might be abundant, or to celebrate a religious ceremony or the completion of some public works; or it is initiated by some one observing a large school of fish inside the lagoon, and conveying the information to the entire village. The latter kind of innauguration is the most colorful and dramatic. Fortunately two expeditions were initiated in this fashion in front of my eyes, so that it was possible to observe the entire operation. On the morning of one of these expeditions we were preparing breakfast, and Maroligar, the second ranking chief, was sweeping the decaying vegetation from Atelu. The village was quiet and serene with only the shouts and cries of children to interrupt the morning calm. Then, precipitately, Maroligar began [40] to shout in a manner that led me to believe he had gone stark mad. He had seen a school of fish, and this was his way of informing the people. They responded in an instant. Everyone

dropped his work, and ran to the canoe-houses. The village became a veritable mad-house. Men, women, and children, were all helping to carry large canoes, as well as traps, fishnets, and seins to the beaches. And the moment a canoe was launched, it was filled with men, who paddled furiously towards the fish. After the initial excitement the men settled down to a day of fishing, the object being to surround the fish with seins, gradually narrowing the circumference of the seins, until the fish were isolated in a small area, and then haul them in with nets and traps. The main problem, of course, is to surround the fish, and this may take two or three hours, chasing them back and forth across the lagoon. Once this is accomplished, the rest of the task is primarily watchful waiting, surreptitiously closing in on the fish, and preventing them from eluding the dragnet. This takes a long time, the men usually working under the hot sun from early morning until dusk.

The same technique is applied in the fishing announced in advance, except that there is no school to catch, and the process here is to systematically drag the shore side of the lagoon in sections, surrounding the fish, and catching them in nets and wires. This continues until the entire beach has been dragged, and again consumes an entire day."

28: Spiro--104
116, 857, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Explicit patterns of solicitude and mutual helpfulness in the young children are not too frequent. Naturally, since they play together all day, their interractional patterns are more cooperative than antagonistic. But the number of overt gestures of care and concern are not many. At times, if I gave candy to one child, he would not keep it, but would pass it on to another, and then ask for another piece for himself. At times, if two children are fighting, and one falls to the ground, a third child will pick him up. One afternoon Talavusmān and Talemelemar had a battle royal, the former screaming with fear, rage, frustration, and pain all in one. Later in the afternoon, he came to have his leg rebandaged, Talemelemar came with him, and displayed great concern for his welfare. He brought him a mat on which to sit, told him how to hold his leg, and was most solicitous and sweet. But these occasions are infrequent."

28: Spiro--114
116, 858, 476, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."